FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

DECEMBER 11, 1915

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
DEC
12
1915
PERIODICAL DIVISION

Mrs. Flora Kays Hanson as Susan B. Anthony

In the Pageant by Hazel MacKaye, Convention Hall
Washington, D. C., December 13, 1915

Vol. III DECEMBER 11, 1915 No. 50

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
Art Editor . . . . MRS. NINA E. ALLENDER
Chairman Circulation Department, MRS. W. T. BURCH

Subscription Price:

Domestic.....$1.00
Foreign.....$1.50
Single Copies.....5 *cents*

Checks, drafts and postoffice orders should be made payable to The Treasurer of the Congressional Union

National Capital Press, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

Notes of the Week

Sutherland-Mondell Suffrage Amendment Introduced

THE Susan B. Anthony amendment was introduced in the Senate by Senator George Sutherland of Utah, on December 7; and in the House on December 6 by Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming. It was referred in the Senate to the Committee on Woman Suffrage, and in the House to the Judiciary Committee. The amendmen will be known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1, and House Joint Resolution No. 2.

The text of the amendment, as printed in the *Congressional Record* of December 7, reads: *"Resolved,* By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each house concurring therein), that the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"Article —.

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

A most encouraging and lively interest in introducing woman suffrage resolutions was manifested in both the Senate and the House. Senator Thomas of Colorado, and Senator Thompson of Kansas also introduced a suffrage amendment in the upper house; in the lower house Mr. Raker of California, Mr. Keating of Colorado, Mr. Taylor of Colorado and Mr. Hayden of Arizona proposed a suffrage amendment.

In addition Mr. Taylor introduced a resolution creating a committee on equal suffrage in the House of Representatives.

A bill (H. R. 6) to "protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and for Members of the House of Representatives" was introduced by Mr. Helvering of Kansas, and was twice introduced in the same form (H. R. 379 and H. R. 767) by Mr. Raker.

Nothing could testify more clearly to the vitality and popularity of the suffrage issue than the willingness of Senators and Representatives to introduce suffrage measures.

Resolutions of Woman Voters' Convention in the "Record"

SENATOR SUTHERLAND of Utah said on the floor of the Senate, December 7: "I present a resolution in the nature of a petition passed by the Woman Voters' Convention at San Francisco on September 16, 1915, praying for the adoption of the so-called Susan B. Anthony resolution, and proposing an amendment to the Constitution granting the right of suffrage to women. This resolution represents the sentiment of approximately 4,000,000 women voters in the twelve equal suffrage states. I ask that it may be printed in the *Record* without reading." . . . There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the *Record,* as follows:

"Resolutions passed by the Woman Voters' Convention, at San Francisco, September 16, 1915:

"WHEREAS, The enfranchisement of the women of the nation is the paramount political issue before the people and the Congress of the United States; therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That we women voters, in convention assembled, call upon the Sixty-fourth Congress to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the United States Constitution, and we pledge ourselves to work for this amendment irrespective of the interest of any political party; and,

"WHEREAS, The Susan B. Anthony amendment offers the only direct and effective method of securing national woman suffrage; therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That we pledge ourselves to work exclusively for the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and herewith record our unalterable opposition to the introduction into Congress of any other amendment dealing with the subject of national woman suffrage."

Senate Hearing Granted

A HEARING before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage was granted the Congressional Union for Thursday morning, December 16, from ten to twelve o'clock. Arrangements for the hearing, which was secured by Senator Pittman of Nevada, are in the hands of Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, chairman of the committee on arrangements for the convention, who will preside at the hearing.

President's Message Demands Liberty for All

IN A message to Congress which urged on the attention of the legislators provisions for national defense, a government shipping bill, and proposals for the raising of revenue, President Wilson said that the thought of great democracies "is of individual liberty and of the free labor that supports life, and the uncensored thought that quickens it. Conquest and dominion are not in our reckoning, or agreeable to our principles. But just because we demand unmolested development and the undisturbed government of our own lives upon our own principles of right and liberty, we resent, from whatever quarter it may come, the aggression we ourselves will not practice. We insist upon security in prosecuting our self-chosen lines of national development. We do more than that. We demand it also for others. We do not confine our enthusiasm for individual liberty and free national development to the incidents and movements of affairs which affect only ourselves. We feel it wherever there is a people that tries to walk in these difficult paths of independence and right. From the first we have made common cause with all partisans of liberty on this side of the sea, and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside domination as that we ourselves should be; we have set America aside as a whole for the uses of independent nations and political freedom."

American women will rejoice that President Wilson has before him a great opportunity to make common cause with the partisans of liberty in his own country.

Women Campaign for Preparedness

ONE HUNDRED women canvassed New York City on December 1 to collect signatures for a petition addressed to New York Representatives and Senators, urging them to support President Wilson's plan for national preparedness. They hoped to obtain 200,000 signatures.

Since women are so actively in politics, why not as voters?

Disabilities of Aliens' Wives

IN THE District courts the petition of an American woman married to an alien to act as executrix of her mother's estate is held up pending an investigation to determine whether the daughter is an American citizen.

Mrs. Mabel Swift Wichfeld, an American married to a citizen of Denmark, filed an application to act as executrix of the estate of her mother, Mrs. Florence A. Swift. No alien, however, can serve as executor or administrator; and the revised statutes provide that an American woman married to a foreigner forthwith loses her American citizenship and takes that of her husband. Mr. Wichfeld is said to have made application for naturalization papers, and some lawyers think this may lift the bar from Mrs. Wichfeld's serving as executrix.

A woman's loss of citizenship on her marriage to a foreigner is unreasonable and unjust. The injustice can only be removed by the federal government; and its continued existence clearly proves that women should be enfranchised, not locally but nationally.

Another instance of a similar injustice occurred recently in the case of Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, who was denied a passport on the ground that her husband is a citizen of a foreign country. Mrs. Boissevain intended to sail on the Ford peace ship, but was unable to do so on account of the loss of her citizenship in her own country.

2,500 of 12,000 "Big Jobs" Held by Women

OF THE 12,000 conspicuous positions, largely of an administrative character, listed in 1915 in the Educational Directory just issued from the Interior Department by its Bureau of Education, 2,500 are held by women.

There are women who are college presidents, state superintendents of public instruction, county superintendents, directors of industrial training, heads of departments of education and colleges and universities, directors of schools for afflicted and exceptional children, and for librarians.

Twenty-four of the six hundred and twenty-two colleges and universities listed in the directory are presided over by women.

Of nearly 3,000 county superintendents of the country, 508 are women. The tendency to fill this position with women is almost wholly confined to the West. One state, Montana, has not one man as county superintendent. Wyoming has only two. Kentucky is the only southern state that utilizes women in this office. The state has twenty-six women as county superintendents.

It is amazing to think that women should hold such positions of authority and trust and still be denied the common right of the ballot.

1510 H Street N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. M. Gidding & Co.
Paris Cincinnati Duluth, Minn.

Fifth Avenue and 46th Street
New York

SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

The State Campaign and the Federal Amendment

By Agnes Hall Prendergast

WHAT is the relation of the state campaign for woman suffrage to the federal amendment? What has our experience in the state campaign taught us which can be profitably brought to bear on our work for the federal amendment? These are the questions which those who believe in woman suffrage as a principle of government and who are not content and who never will be content merely in gaining suffrage for themselves in their own states, but who will not rest until the women of the entire country are enfranchised, are now considering.

November second wrote a whole chapter in the history of New York state. It was a day rife with interest and full of valuable experience for those women, who, being convinced that women and men together should serve the state by equally sharing the responsibilities of government, courageously gave their time and energy in the final act of loyalty to their cause and convictions by serving as watchers at the polls. That the result was edifying to a degree has been liberally testified to by the police in all districts where women served. The "uplift," so sneeringly referred to by some, has actually begun. Women sat all day long in the polling places and received kindly consideration and courteous treatment from the very men who told us in the past that women ought not to be contaminated by coming in contact with the political element and its unsavory atmosphere. We must admit that the "atmosphere" was rather dense in spots—and I believe the average voter himself would be glad of a certain measure of relief from some of the conditions under which he must discharge his sacred duty of citizenship. Indeed, there is every reason in the world why the place in which this duty is performed should be at least clean and surrounded by the dignity which ought to accompany such an act—and I believe that the first effect of women's voting in New York state will be to bring about an improvement in this respect, just as it has in every state where women vote.

But what did we actually learn through our experience on election day? In the first place we saw every variety of polling place, every variety of politician, every variety of voter. I personally visited sixty-two polling places, talked with the watchers and learned from them that they were in all cases courteously treated; that they experienced no embarrassment whatever; that they came away from the polling places after having been in the "political atmosphere" for many more hours than it would have required had they been voting, with quite as much self-respect, quite as much of womanliness, as they had before; and, as far as home was concerned, they loved it just as much as ever. So there is another fallacy exploded. A womanly woman can go anywhere and be respected in the performance of any legitimate act.

There were other things which the watchers saw. They saw the quality of the electorate. They saw that in certain districts there was a large number of illiterate voters and many of foreign birth recently enfranchised.

Now, since the whole tendency of progressive thought for the past century has been in the direction of the extension of the franchise in order to draw into our government an expression of opinion and a responsibility from every class and element of society, and since it is for this very principle that we are contending when we ask for votes for women (women being a very important element in every class of society), we must not, and we do not, object, but rather rejoice that every man may have the protection which citizenship and the power of the vote can give him.

But does it seem reasonable and fair that an amendment to enfranchise American women should be submitted to the judgment of men whose heritage and associations and tendencies are not essentially American? Does it seem reasonable that such an amendment should be submitted to voters who cannot even read the text of the amendment, or whose educational limitations are such as to make an intelligent study of the question impossible? Have we not a right to expect a more expert judgment on this question than the average or below-average citizen can give?

There is a large number of voters, who, when they do not understand a question or when they have not given it sufficient thought to have any definite convictions one way or the other, will vote "no" rather than risk a "yes" on a new experiment. There is also the voter who will vote "yes" just because some one asks him to, and without any thought on the subject at all. I can cite an example from my own experience: A man of foreign birth, who can neither read nor write, has been employed by me for twenty years. He is an American citizen and a good one; he is honest and reliable in every respect. I would trust him to vote according to his best conscience on any question *which he could understand*. When I asked him how he was going to vote on our amendment he had not the slightest idea what I was talking about; but when I told him I was in favor of it, he said he would vote for it and get his friends to do so. Much as I was gratified, I could not for one moment think that those votes were intelligent. I believe this man is perfectly capable of voting intelligently for local candidates and on policies of government as laid down by political parties; but I do not believe he is the one to pass on my ability to intelligently and faithfully discharge the duties of an enfranchised citizen, or the desirability of my doing so.

There is another kind of citizen who admits every argument in favor of woman suffrage, but who just doesn't like the idea and who is "unalterably opposed." Is his vote of any value except as an example of narrow-minded conservatism?

With all these elements to cope with, no wonder we have found this campaign hard; no wonder that we feel it is unfair and unjust for the leaders in our national government to insist, as they do when they refuse an amendment to the United States Constitution, that we must win our enfranchisement state by state; that we must go on through campaign after campaign of hard, disagreeable, humiliating struggle in order to convice the voter, the man on the street, the man in his political club, the man anywhere we can find him and get his attention, that women are intelligent human beings, capable of having opinions about things which pertain to government and to society which government controls and directs, and that their right of expression on these things should be recognized by the state and country.

Our President, while he proclaims that he believes in and voted for woman suffrage in a state election, has been opposed to a federal amendment. Many of our Congressmen have taken the same attitude. They declare it is a violation of the principle of states' rights to forbid the states to deny a citizen the right to vote because of sex.

If it be a violation of states' rights to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment, then it was a violation of states' rights to pass the fifteenth amendment, and those who take this attitude should work for the repeal of the fifteenth amendment.

We know this is only a subterfuge and an excuse. We know that our President and every Representative and Senator knows that it is no violation of states' rights to amend the Constitution of the United States through a means by which all the states have agreed to abide; which in itself involves the ratification of the proposition by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states after having been approved by a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress.

A contemporary weekly contends that even through a federal amendment we make an indirect appeal to the voter. True, but of what use is representative government if not for the purpose of placing in Congress men whom we expect and whom we pay to give more time and thought and intelligent consideration to questions of government than the average voter can give? We know that a very great number of those who voted on our state amendment had made no particular study of the question at all. We expect our Representatives to be men of experience, education, high ideals, fair minds and at least thoroughly American in every respect.

These are the reasons why I believe American women should receive their enfranchisement through a federal amendment. These are the reasons why I believe that American women should make their appeal directly to our national government, and why our President and Representatives should not block or hinder, but rather welcome and encourage the fullest and fairest consideration of this question as a principle of government which, as an interest involving the rights of human beings, should take precedence over the principle of states' rights or any other principle which can be suggested or used as an excuse for denying political equality for all sane, intelligent, capable people.

Let the state make the standard for voting just as high as it likes, providing it does no injustice to its humblest citizen; but let men and women qualify on equal terms. Some New York Congressmen, many of whom believe in woman suffrage, and who voted for it, will oppose the federal amendment because New York state voted against it, and they feel that they are in a certain way bound to follow the sentiment of their state in their attitude on the federal amendment. But our Representatives do not represent the state, but the district which elected them; they are supposed to represent not only the voters of the district, but also the women as well. When they take as an indication of the sentiment of the district the vote of the men on election day, they are ignoring the women altogether. If men's votes always represented the sentiment of the women, there would be very little agitation for woman suffrage. That men's votes do not represent the convictions of women on the suffrage question was proved on November second; for only 550,000 men in New York state voted "yes," whereas there are approximately a million women who have registered in favor of suffrage.

Moreover, when our Senators and Representatives sit in Congress they are supposed to act for the best interests of the country as a whole, irrespective of party interests or any selfish local sentiment. To be perfectly fair, they should vote on this question as a principle of democracy, applicable to the country as a whole and without reference to any other principle than that of justice to the individual.

Without this full and complete justice to both men and women government and society can never be on a fair and satisfactory footing.

Five Kinds
Ten Cents
Half
Pound

CORBY CAKE IS READY TO SERVE

IT GOES TO YOUR DEALER FRESH FROM OUR OVENS THREE TIMES DAILY

Rich and Dainty, and Like Corby Bread—ABSOLUTELY PURE

Raisin
Plain
Chocolate
Lady
Marble

The Women Voters' Envoys Present Their

SPEAKING both as President of the United States and as one voter to another, President Wilson told the leaders of the suffrage deputation which waited on him today that nothing could be more impressive than the presentation of such a request in such numbers and supported by the influences that stood back of them. He would, he said, consult in the most serious way with his colleagues "at the other end of the city," and he added:

"This visit of yours will remain in my mind not only as a delightful compliment, but also as a most impressive thing, which undoubtedly will make it necessary for all of us to consider very carefully what is right for us to do."

For the first time in the history of the woman suffrage movement in America a petition for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment enfranchising women was presented to Congress and to the President by delegates appointed to represent already enfranchised women.

Shortly after eleven o'clock this morning a travel-stained motor car, across the front of which was stretched a purple streamer bearing in white the words "On to Congress," and in the rear a banner inscribed "We demand an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women," rolled slowly over the Baltimore Pike and came to a halt just at the edge of the city. In it were the envoys appointed by the Woman Voters' Convention which met in San Francisco last September, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of Oregon, and Miss Frances Jolliffe, of California; Miss Mabel Vernon, of Wilmington, Delaware, who crossed the continent with the party as pace maker and advance agent; and last, but not least, the chauffeur and mechanician, who were also the owners of the car, Miss Ingeborg Kindstedt and Miss Maria Kindberg, of Rhode Island.

Gathered to meet them was the escort planned and directed for the Congressional Union by Mrs. Mary Hunter Austin. It comprised a group of mounted women representing the thirteen states and Alaska, which already have granted women the vote; another group representing the thirty-seven unenfranchised states; flag and banner bearers wearing long purple capes with deep yellow collars and white stoles; and hundred of women carrying purple, white and gold pennants, at the head of which were the three hundred distinguished guests invited to attend the President's reception at the White House.

The famous four-mile petition bearing 500,000 signatures, rolled on huge spools, was in charge of Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins and Miss Julia Hurlbut, of New Jersey, the President's home state. In the parade to the Capitol, up the Capitol steps, and again on the march to the White House, it was borne, unrolled to a length of one hundred feet, by twenty petition bearers.

It was a cold day and the bands played one stirring selection after another to cheer the hearts of the various sections of the escort as they waited for the time to start. The "Marseillaise" was the signal to march, as Mrs. John Jay White, the grand marshal, rode up to the head of the procession in advance of the famous amendment banner and raised her riding whip; but as the parade swung into East Capitol Street for the advance on the Capitol, the band played "Dixie."

A feature of the procession was the famous replica of the Liberty Bell, lavishly decorated in purple, white and gold, and mounted on the same truck which had carried it through the Pennsylvania state campaign.

In the group which accompanied the envoys as they walked up the Capitol steps between the double line formed by the escort were Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York. Dr. Cora Smith King, of Washington, treasurer of the National Council of Woman Voters, presented Mrs. Field and Miss Jolliffe to Senator Sutherland and Representative Mondell, who, surrounded by a group of Senators and Representatives, formed a reception committee at the doors of the Capitol.

In presenting her message to Representative Mondell, Miss Jolliffe reminded him in connection with the subject of preparedness, of which, she commented, much was to be heard, that no country can be prepared which does not extend to its own women the rights it has granted some of them; and in addressing Senator Sutherland, Mrs. Field said earnestly that woman suffrage was a paramount issue before the people. Both women asked that they might, if possible, be permitted to present the message of the women voters from the floor of the House and Senate.

In their replies, both Senator Sutherland and Representative Mondell assured the suffrage envoys that the dignity and importance of their mission, backed as it was by four million voting women, would receive the most serious attention of Congress, and Representative Mondell added:

"We trust that the pressure of other matters of importance will not be made an excuse for delaying or postponing action on the highly important question in behalf of which you present your petition. Under free government there can be no more important question than one involving the suffrage rights of half the people."

The resolutions passed by the Convention of Woman Voters last September and presented today by Mrs. Field and Miss Jolliffe to the President and Congress are as follows:

"WHEREAS, The enfranchisement of the women of the nation is the paramount political issue before the people and the Congress of the United States; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we women voters in convention assembled, call upon the Sixty-fourth Congress to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the United States Constitution and we pledge ourselves to work for the amendment irrespective of the interest of any political party; and,

"WHEREAS, The Susan B. Anthony amendment offers the only direct and effective method of securing national woman suffrage; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to work exclusively for the Susan B. Anthony amendment and herewith record our unalterable opposition to the introduction into Congress of any other amendment dealing with the subject of national woman suffrage."

One copy of the above resolutions was presented to the congressional committee at the Capitol and the other to the President at the close of the reception at the White House, "somewhat battered in appearance, having traveled a long way," as Mrs. Field apologetically remarked.

Arrival of Women Voters' Envoys at the Capitol

Section of Escort of Women Voters' Envoys

Message to the President and to Congress

The Envoys Arrive at the White House

The President received the envoys and their escort in the East Room, the introductions being made by Miss Anne Martin, who spoke briefly before presenting Miss Jolliffe and Mrs. Field.

"A year ago," Miss Martin said, "I had the honor of an interview with you when you congratulated me on the success of the Nevada campaign. Since that time we have been greatly cheered and encouraged by the fact that you not only declared yourself in favor, but voted in favor, of equal suffrage in New Jersey.

"We are not only a delegation of woman suffragists, but woman voters. Women have traveled from all the equal suffrage states in order to be here today when the delegates of the women voters present to you the resolutions passed at their convention urging the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

"You have told previous deputations, Mr. President, that you could not speak for your party; we ask you therefore to speak to your party and as its leader impress upon Congress the importance of passing the suffrage amendment in order that the women of America may receive the dignity and the simple justice of enfranchisement by the Constitution of our country."

Miss Jolliffe, who was then presented by Miss Martin, spoke, she said, as a Democrat, having campaigned actively for the Democratic Party in California. Surely, she said, justice is not a local matter, yet her own right to vote could now be taken from her should she remove from California to New York or New Jersey.

"We are asking nothing radical or revolutionary," said Miss Jolliffe. "We women of America want the vote. Those who may doubt that statement have only to try to take it away from the women who have it to be convinced of this.

"There is a great fund of gratitude awaiting the party that will hear us, and there is a great reserve of votes for the party that is quick enough to see the opportunity.

"Speaking as a Democrat, Mr. President, it was my privilege to go out through California and work for you, and I was happy to do it. This is the first appeal I have made, the first request I have made, to the Democratic administration. It is for the nine millions of working women whose average wage does not exceed six dollars a week, and who need our help; for all other women who need the strength the vote will give, and in the name of the women who have fought for three generations for this very thing, the Susan B. Anthony amendment, that we are working now.

"Mr. President, there are a great many things to do in this nation and we want to help you. But you must help us first. Help us, Mr. President, to a new freedom and to a larger liberty."

The same thought was emphasized by Mrs. Field.

"And, Mr. President," she added, "as I am not to have the woman's privilege of the last word, may I say that I know what your stand has been in the past, that you have said it was a matter for the states. But we have seen that, like all great men, you have changed your mind on other questions. We have watched the change and development of your mind on preparedness, and we honestly believe that circumstances have so altered that you may change your mind in this regard.

"The demand for suffrage is a national demand. Last month one million men voted for it in the East. Now, four million women have sent Miss Jolliffe and me here to tell you that it is their will, too, that this be made a national matter."

With the request that he look at the petition, the signatures to which were gathered at the Panama-Pacific Exposition and on the trip across the continent, Mrs. Field stepped back and the President advanced and unrolled a portion of the petition, on which, as Mrs. Field remarked, appeared the signatures of many governors and mayors of the states and cities through which the envoys had passed. Mr. Wilson looked at it with interest, and assisted Mrs. Hopkins and Miss Hurlbut in rolling it up before he made his response to Mrs. Field and Miss Jolliffe.

"I did not come here," he said, "anticipating the necessity of making an address of any kind. As you have just heard," and here the President smiled, "I hope it is true that I am not a man set stiffly beyond the possibility of learning. I hope that I shall continue to be a learner as long as I live.

"I can only say to you this afternoon that nothing could be more impressive than the presentation of such a request in such numbers and backed by such influences as undoubtedly stand behind you. Unhappily it is too late for me to consider what is to go into my message, because that went out to the newspapers at least a week ago; and I have the habit—perhaps the habit of the teacher—of confining my utterances to one subject at a time, for fear that two subjects might compete with one another for prominence. I have felt obliged in the present posture of affairs to devote my message to one subject, and am therefore sorry to say that it is too late to take under consideration your request that I embody this in my message. All I can say with regard to what you are urging at present is this: I hope I shall always have an open mind, and I shall certainly take the greatest pleasure in conferring in the most serious way with my colleagues at the other end of the city with regard to what is the right thing to do at this time concerning this great matter. I am always restrained, as some of you will remember, by the consciousness that I must speak for others as well as for myself as long as I occupy my present office, and, therefore, I do not like to speak for others until I consult others and see what I am justified in saying.

"This visit of yours will remain in my mind not only as a delightful compliment, but also as a very impressive thing which undoubtedly will make it necessary for all of us to consider very carefully what is right for us to do."

The President's Answer

By Ida Husted Harper

(An address made at Mrs. Belmont's reception in honor of the women voters' envoys, Little White House, Washington, D. C., December 7, 1915)

I HAVE been spending the winters in Washington for the last twenty-five years, and have called on six Presidents with delegates from the National Council of Women, the suffrage associations and the Daughters of the American Revolution; but as I stood in the East Room of the White House yesterday all of these occasions seemed to fade into insignificance. I have watched the diplomatic representatives of all the nations of the world, the dignified Justices of the Supreme Court, the Congresses of the United States, the officers of the army and navy, pay their respects to the Presidents, but to my mind by far the most impressive and historic scene was that of three little women voters from three of the states of the far West pleading for the political liberty of their millions of disfranchised sisters. How I wish that picture could be immortalized on canvas—those three young faces, gazing so eagerly and hopefully into the serious and interested countenance of the President, as he stood there and listened. There is every reason to believe that the future will show that it was indeed an historic occasion. For just as surely as the President's message today to Congress declared in favor of national preparedness for defense, so surely his message to the women yesterday indicated his own preparedness for national action in favor of woman suffrage. (Applause.) It is national action and the national amendment that will ultimately be the goal of every suffragist, no matter what her opinion may have been at the beginning of her work. The experience of a few unsuccessful state campaigns will make her wish for an aeroplane to speed her arrival to the doors of Congress! (Applause.)

I have just come from the hard work of the New York campaign. I assisted in the first California campaign nineteen years ago, and there have been many between those two. More than thirty-five times the women have obeyed the injunction, "Go to the states for your suffrage," and have succeeded just nine times. The other twenty-five or thirty times they saw the amendment slain by the secret ballot. Now the time has come for us to know who casts the votes against us and the things behind for which they do it. President Wilson told the women of New Jersey to look to the state for their suffrage, and they looked. So did he; and he

(*Continued on page* 10.)

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Miss Alice Paul, N. J., Chairman
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y., Vice-Chairman
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. John Winters Brannan, N. Y.
Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.
Miss Elsie Hill, Conn.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.
Mrs. William Kent, Cal.
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Jr., Pa.
Miss Anne Martin, Nev.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Mrs. Nina E. Allender, D. C.
Mrs. W. D. Ascough, Conn.
Mrs. Edward Breitung, Mich.
Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, Utah
Miss Cornelia Cook, Ore.
Mrs. J. Borden Estee, Vt.
Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, Col.
Mrs. John Gibbs, S. C.
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Miss Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Miss Anne Martin, Nev.
Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Ohio
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, Va.
Mrs. William Spencer Murray, Conn.
Mrs. Alden H. Potter, Minn.
Mrs. Townsend Scott, Md.
Mrs. W. E. Stanrod, Idaho

Mrs. Robert Adamson, N. Y.
Miss Jessie Ashley, N. Y.
Miss Harriet Bain, Wis.
Mrs. Adolphus Clay Bartlett, Ill.
Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard, N. Y.
Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, N. Y.
Mrs. John Winters Brannan, N. Y.
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright, Minn.
Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis.
Mrs. Henry Bruere, N. Y.
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.
Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Col.
Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, Utah
Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, Cal.
Mrs. William L. Colt, N. Y.
Mrs. Frank Cothren, N. Y.
Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Ark.
Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Col.
Mrs. George H. Day, Conn.
Mrs. John Dewey, N. Y.
Miss Lavinia Dock, N. Y.
Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, N. Y.
Mrs. O. F. Ellington, Ark.
Mrs. J. André Fouilhoux, Ore.
Mrs. Glendower Evans, Mass.
Mrs. E. F. Feickert, N. J.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Miss Susan P. Frost, So. Car.
Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, Md.
Mrs. Harvey C. Garber, Ohio
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.
Mrs. Inez Haynes Gilmore, Cal.
Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner, Cal.
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pa.
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Mich.
Mrs. W. E. Hardy, Neb.
Mrs. F. R. Hazard, N. Y.
Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Cal.
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, N. Y.
Miss Ada L. James, Wis.
Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, R. I.
Miss Helen Keller, Mass.
Mrs. Florence Kelley, N. Y.
Dr. Cora Smith King, Wash.
Mrs. William Bross Lloyd, Ill.
Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye, D. C.
Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, Cal.
Mrs. Lionel S. Marks, Mass.
Miss Julia Marlowe, N. Y.
Miss Edythe Wynne Matthison, Conn.
Mrs. John T. Morrison, Idaho
Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, D. C.
Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Ind.

Mrs. Mary Hutcheson Page, Mass.
Mrs. Marsden Perry, R. I.
Mrs. Annie Porritt, Conn.
Mrs. William Prendergast, N. Y.
Mrs. Henry Ridgly, Del.
Miss Margaret Roberts, Idaho
Mrs. John Rogers, N. Y.
Prof. Lucy M. Salmon, N. Y.
Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Cal.
Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Ind.
Mrs. Austin Sperry, Cal.
Mrs. Julius Stone, Ohio
Mrs. Mary C. Therkelsen, Ore.
Mrs. Robert Gibbes Thomas, S. C.
Miss Clara L. Thompson, Mo.
Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.
Mrs. Hettie D. M. Wallis, Tex.
Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, D. C.
Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, Cal.
Mrs. Mina Van Winkle, N. J.
Mrs. John Jay White, D. C.
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Dr. Marian Walker Williams, Ariz.
Miss Bird Wilson, Nev.
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.
Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Woman Voter at the Helm

THE new Congress opens, bright with hope. Women from all over the country are in Washington, united in the demand for the one measure which declares that there shall be no disfranchisement because of sex.

Foremost among these women, rightfully taking the lead among them, are the women voters who are now the power behind the suffrage movement. Today it is the women voters who are at the helm. They are our best advocates with the President, with Congress, and with the national committeemen who influence political opinion in their states.

It gives new life and meaning to the suffrage movement when the women of the West, speaking with the authority of recognized citizenship, ask, in return for their confidence and support, just and prompt action on woman suffrage. At last we have speakers who can address political leaders in language that they can understand—in terms of the votes which they have the clear right to give or withhold.

In the practical character of this latter-day aspect of the suffrage movement, there is nothing small or hard. The desire of the enfranchised woman to extend the freedom she enjoys in the West to the four corners of the country is one of the finest inspirations of our time.

The eastern women who made the first appeal to the women of the West to aid them in their fight counted on the added strength, prestige and opportunity which even women voters would gain from the establishment of freedom among women throughout the nation. They did not at first realize, as they do now, that their best appeal is to the idealism and generosity of the West; the promptest answer comes when they ask free women to enfranchise unfree women and to establish political liberty throughout the country.

If, as we hope, America is the first world power to declare its whole people politically free, it is beautiful that this freedom will be the result of the cooperation of women for the enfranchisement of their sex.

War and Freedom

IT IS indeed a wonderful moment for the enfranchisement of women. The war in Europe has taught us many lessons—chief among them the essential need of women's services for the economic as well as the physical existence of the community.

Just as important a lesson is the need for a more democratic control of government, so that friendly people may not be precipitated into warfare without any adequate reason for conflict. Nations must learn to control their foreign as well as their domestic affairs, and this control must be granted as freely to the women of the nation as to the men.

Denmark has already recognized this truth by enfranchising women since the war began. If Denmark could do this act of justice, a small and unguarded country close to the theater of war, how much more promptly can we act, removed as we are from the area of battle?

The enfranchisement of women in America would be a glorious contribution to the work of establishing that national and international justice which is the only secure foundation for peace.

The President's Answer

"DECIDEDLY encouraging" was the comment of the women who heard President Wilson's statement last Monday to the envoys of the Woman Voters' Convention. The President has promised to consider the question of the justice of referring a federal suffrage amendment to the states for their ratification and to confer with his colleagues over this pressing issue.

Suffragists have good reasons to hope that the result of the President's consideration wil be a favorable one. We are not asking the President, as the leader of the majority party in Congress, to assume the responsibility of enfranchising women throughout the nation. We would boldly do so if it were possible, but the Constitution does not empower Congress to take such action. We are asking him only to do what lies within his power to do. Whether the federal suffrage amendment is wise or unwise—whether it raises a state or national issue—these are matters that under the terms of our union the states are empowered to decide.

It would hardly be reasonable to ask Congress to refer to the states every constitutional amendment submitted to it on the ground that it had not the power of final action upon them. But where a question is as fundamental as is that of the right of the people to govern themselves, and as urgent as the suffrage question is today, it would be indefensible to refuse to submit the proposal to the consideration of the states.

Members of state legislatures, which in amending their state constitutions are empowered only to submit such proposals to the people, habitually take the stand that they should not refuse to allow the male electors to decide whether women shall have the vote or not; and over and over again members of the state legislatures who are personally opposed to woman suffrage have willingly voted for such a state suffrage amendment referring the entire question of the political status of women to the existing electorate.

The situation in Congress is the same. It is the plain duty of Congressmen, and most notably of the leaders of Congress, not to block the action of the states on the national suffrage amendment, but to allow it to go before the legislatures which have a right under the Constitution to take decisive action upon the proposal.

Susan B. Anthony

A Chronicle Pageant, Written and Directed by Hazel MacKaye

PRESENTED AT CONVENTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 13, 1915.

IN BEHALF OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Assistant Director and Business Manager,
Marie Moore Forrest
Designer of Scenery ..... *Mortimer Clarke, Jr.*
Chairman of Costumes Committee,
Mrs. William S. Moore
Mistress of the Wardrobe .....*Mrs. Rose Clark*
Chairman of Participants Committee,
Mrs. W. T. Burch
Vice-Chairman of Participants Committee,
Mrs. Florence Morrill
Chairman of Publicity Committee,
Mrs. Benton MacKaye
Chairman of Music Committee,
Mrs. Estelle Willoughby Ions
Director of the Women's Chorus,
Mrs. Lucy W. Metcalf

Stage Assistants to the Directors,
Miss Adams, Miss Dunbar, Miss Dunlap, Miss Jordan, Mr. F. M. Kerby.
Conductor of Orchestra .....*Meyer Davis*
Scenic Construction and Properties,
Morgan A. Sherwood, of the National Theater
Electrical Effects,
Walter Burke, of the National Theater
Construction of Stage .....*O. Owens*
Costumes .....*Van Horn and Brickerton*
Costumes for Birthday Scene *Designed and made under the direction of Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Clark*
Costumes for Frieze .....*Neighborhood House*
Make-up and Wigs .....*Hepner's Emporium*

PATRONESSES

Mrs. George Sutherland	Mrs. Henry Blount
Mrs. William M. Borah	Mrs. George Odell
Mrs. Thomas J. Walsh	Mrs. Morven Thompson
Mrs. Reed Smoot	Mrs. Reeve Lewis
Mrs. John D. Works	Mrs. Barrett Ridgley
Mrs. Henry Ashurst	Mrs. Robert Baker
Mrs. Frank Mondell	Mrs. Henry MacFarland
Mrs. E. J. Hill	Mrs. Appleton P. Clark
Mrs. C. B. Sigsbee	Mrs. Theodore Noyes
Mrs. Richard Wainwright	Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley
Mrs. Robert Peary	Mrs. Henry Graves
Mrs. Christian Hemmick	Mrs. Clara D. Neligh
	Mrs. G. Brown Miller

Description of the Pageant

Part I

Episode I

"Susan B. Anthony commences her life of public service."

Susan B. Anthony was born in 1820.

TIME: 1845.

SCENE: The Anthony Homestead, Center Falls, New York.

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

Mrs. Daniel Anthony, Susan B. Anthony's Mother .....*Ada Louise Townsend*
Her Sisters Mary..... *Violet Warren Pierson*
Hannah....*Leonora Marie de Grange*
Daniel Anthony, Her Father .....*Howard A. Treat*
A Tax Collector.....*Bennett Meade*
The First Quaker Elder.....*Professor Townsend*
The Second Quaker Elder .....*James B. Peat*
Susan B. Anthony .....*Flora Kays Hanson*
A Freedwoman .....*Mary Randolph Dickens*
Her Child .....*Doris Dickens*
Other Quaker Elders,
F. E. Barbour, W. V. Fiske, Francis M. Stacy, H. T. Van Wyck, W. C. Wallace.
Miss Anthony's School Children,
Henrietta Forrest, Sally Burch, Margaret Dickens, Virginia Fant, Hugh Edwards, James Forrest, Arthur Oswill, Blayden Forrest.

Daniel Anthony, his wife and daughters welcome the Quaker Elders, who stop for refreshment on their way to quarterly meeting. Miss Anthony, accompanied by her school children, arrives only in time to bid the Elders good-bye. As the Elders are leaving, they are halted by the entrance of other Quaker Elders, who bring with them a forlorn colored woman and her child. The woman tells the pitiful story of her wrongs. When appealed to, Daniel Anthony leaves the decision to his wife and daughters, whereupon Susan, deeply moved by the woman's plight, pleads in her behalf.

Episode II

"The First Meeting between Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton." (*Historic.*)

TIME: 1851.

PLACE: The Open Square Outside the Meeting Hall of the Anti-Slavery Advocates at Seneca Falls, N. Y.

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

Susan B. Anthony .....*Flora Kays Hanson*
Mrs. Amelia Bloomer *Margaret Hopkins Worrell*
Elizabeth Cady Stanton .....*Charlotte M. Stanley*
William Lloyd Garrison .....*Charles O. Shaw*
Wendell Phillips .....*James R. Daly*
A Butcher's Boy .....*William Burch*
Apple Man .....*J. C. Crawford*
People of the Day.

Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony meet after having attended an anti-slavery convention. Their conversation reveals the strong interest and admiration each of these life-long friends felt for the other from the very first. It also reveals the fact that Mrs. Stanton had much to do with turning Miss Anthony's attention from other issues to the more fundamental one of woman suffrage.

Episode III

TIME: 1853.

SCENE: The Woman's Rights Convention, Broadway Tabernacle, New York City

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

William Lloyd Garrison .....*Mr. Shaw*
Lucretia Mott .....*Katherine Reynolds McCormick*
Wendell Phillips .....*Mr. Daly*
Susan B. Anthony .....*Mrs. Hanson*
Elizabeth Cady Stanton .....*Mrs. Stanley*

The speakers try to make themselves heard above the uproar of the audience, but after bravely persisting in their attempts to continue, they are finally forced to abandon the meeting to the unruly mob. All save Miss Anthony leave the platform, but undaunted, she remains until the very end.

THE SYMBOLIC FRIEZE

WOMEN DESPAIR

We who are weakest,
We who are strongest,
Yea, we the women
Cry our despair.
We ask for justice,
But men are blinded.
Hearts filled with hatred
Heed not our prayer.

Figures in the frieze.—Katherine Pace, Margaret Read, Irene Wright, Ruth Hapgood, Elizabeth Stanford, Peggy Sefton, Georgia Schofield, Mary Howrie, Lillian Hendricks, Katherine Burdett, Anne Hopkins, Pocahontas Butler, Mary Holmes, Jeanette Cowan, Mary L. Anderson, Candace Howard, Margaret Howard, Eloise Orme, Helen Burch.

Episode IV

STATE CAMPAIGNING

This episode is typical of the experiences and hardships Miss Anthony encountered in carrying this reform into the remotest places, not in one state alone, but throughout the country.

TIME: The Winter of 1855.

SCENE: A Village Town Hall in Rural New York State.

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

Susan B. Anthony .....*Mrs. Hanson*
A Country Boy .....*Harry Myers*
The Spokesman for the Farmers ...*James B. Peat*
Farmers and Country Women.

Miss Anthony, after a thirty-six mile drive through a snow storm, arrives at her destination and prepares to hold the Woman's Rights meeting which had already been scheduled. The smooth course of this meeting is somewhat interrupted, but in the end Miss Anthony succeeds in stimulating a genuine interest in her cause.

Episode V

"The Passage of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution."

The three leading spirits in the suffrage movement at this time were Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. When the fourteenth amendment was framed giving the negro the vote, these women endeavored heroically to have women enfranchised as well as the black man, but they were

1510 H Street N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
J. M. Gidding & Co.
Paris Cincinnati Duluth, Minn.
Fifth Avenue and 46th Street
New York
SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

Progam of the Pageant

put off by the men of their time with the plea that this was "the negro's hour."

TIME: 1868.

SCENE: A Street at Night.

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

Susan B. Anthony .....*Mrs. Hanson*
Lucretia Mott .....*Miss McCormick*
Elizabeth Cady Stanton .....*Mrs. Stanley*
Onlookers and Men in the Procession.

A torch-light procession marches through the street. By means of transparencies, the men are urged to vote for the party which, among other things, has passed the fourteenth amendment, enfranchising the negro. When the three pioneer suffragists learn that the amendment has passed, in spite of their efforts, without including women, they resolve to unite their forces and to press forward with still greater zeal toward their goal.

THE SYMBOLIC FRIEZE

WOMEN UNITE

Those whom we have helped to free
Now our masters have been made.
Then, since Justice scorns our plea
And our cause has been betrayed,
Each of our faithful band,
Here pledges to unite
Clasping the other's hand,
To win this crusade.

Intermission

Part II

Episode VI

"Susan B. Anthony's Trial for Voting Under the Fourteenth Amendment." (*Historic.*)

This episode is taken verbatim from the Court records.

TIME: 1873.

SCENE: The Supreme Court room in the court house, Canandaigua, N. Y.

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

Judge Selden, Counsel for Miss Anthony,
Howard A. Treat
Judge Hunt, Judge of the District Supreme Court,
Clerk of the Court .....*Bennett Mead*
Susan B. Anthony ..... *Mrs. Hanson*
Jurors and Women in the Audience.

Believing, and having been advised by able lawyers of the day, that, under the Fourteenth Amendment, she qualified as a citizen and as such had a right to vote, Miss Anthony voted, and was subsequently arrested and brought to trial for so doing. Judge Selden is summing up the case after pleading for three hours in Miss Anthony's behalf. The unprecedented unfairness of this trial is revealed as well as Miss Anthony's unalterable determination to defy the injustice of the court. The fine imposed upon her at that time remains to this day upon the statute books against her name.

Episode VII

The Woman's Declaration of Rights. (*Historic.*)

TIME: July 4, 1876.

SCENE: The Centennial Celebration in Independence Square, Philadelphia.

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

Senator Terry, Master of Ceremonies,
James R. Daly
Richard Henry Lee, who reads the Declaration of Independence .....*Frederick M. Kerby*
General Hawley, Officer of the Day,
Francis B. Moriarty
Susan B. Anthony .....*Mrs. Hanson*
Matilda Joslyn Gage .....*Helen Kerby*

REPRESENTATIVES FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Prince Oscar of Sweden .....*McKinley W. Kriegh*
Ambassador from Russia .....*E. S. Ricker*
Ambassador from England .....*A. S. Hathaway*
Ambassador from Turkey .....*B. F. Fernald*
Ambassador from Japan .....*Watari Kitashima*
Count Rochambeau of France .....*Henry Holmes*
Policemen,
Messrs. Madison, O. W. Goodwin, J. A. Nicol, G. D. Crist.

The people assembled in Independence Square to listen to the reading of the Declaration of Independence on the historic spot where it was signed one hundred years before. During the reading of the Declaration, Miss Anthony asks General Hawley to be allowed to silently present the "Women's Declaration of Rights" to the Master of Ceremonies, but General Hawley refuses to give his permission. Miss Anthony, however, is undeterred, and in spite of this refusal she presents the Woman's Declaration to Senator Ferry, before the assembled throng.

THE SYMBOLIC FRIEZE

THE RIGHT TO LIBERTY

There is a sound of crumbling chains
The roar and fall of breaking bars:
The women, the women are waking,
Their souls cry out to be free.
Lo, the walls of their prison are quaking,
And the women, the women take heed,
For their spirits are roused by this deed,
And the thirst of their souls needs slaking.
Their cry! It shall be heard!
Their cry! It shall be heard!
The right, the right, woman demands
The right to Liberty!

Episode VIII

"Political Action in Behalf of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment."

Having exhausted every other means of obtaining their end, the women resolved to demand of Congress the now famous amendment which Miss Anthony drafted. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

Miss Anthony worked all the rest of her lifetime for this amendment, believing it to be the most effective and quickest way of gaining woman suffrage. The following tableaux represent the political means used by Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton, and other leading suffragists to force Congress to take action upon the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

TABLEAU I

A Hearing Before the Senate Committee

TABLEAU II

A Deputation to President Garfield Asking Him to Include Woman Suffrage in the Party Platform

Episode IX

THE FIRST VOTE ON THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT.

TIME: 1887.

SCENE: A Reception During the Annual Convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association in the Parlors of a Church in Washington, D. C.

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

Elizabeth Cady Stanton .....*Mrs. Stanley*
John W. Hutchinson, the Jubilee Singer,
George E. Anderson
Susan B. Anthony .....*Mrs. Hanson*
Guests at the reception.

The guests arrive for the reception. Mrs. Stanton, then president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, introduces John W. Hutchinson, the famous jubilee singer, now an elderly man. He sings an old campaign hymn in memory of the early days of suffrage. At the end of his song, Miss Anthony enters and tells how, as a result of the years of pressure brought upon it, the Senate at last had taken a vote on the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

THE SYMBOLIC FRIEZE

THE DAWN OF HOPE

Lo, now from on high
Comes dawning hope to heal
Wounds from the past, with zeal
To win the fight.

High we our banner fling,
Gladly our thanks we sing,
Gone is the night.
Now on the golden air
Behold the glory, where
Swift breaks the light.

Episode X

HER EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

(*Historic*)

TIME: February 15, 1900.

SCENE: Miss Anthony's Eightieth Birthday Celebration in Washington, D. C.

PERSONS IN THE EPISODE

Susan B. Anthony.....*Mrs. Hanson*
The Enfranchised States, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, *Mary Randolph Dickens, H. Reynolds, J. Grimes, Louise Beamer.*
Friends in the audience, Professional Women, Children.

Miss Anthony receives the grateful tributes of her friends and of the women who have been afforded larger opportunities through her lifetime of service. Miss Anthony in her response to their greetings, lays it upon every woman present to carry on the work she must soon lay down.

THE SYMBOLIC FRIEZE

ONWARD GLORIOUS SOLDIERS

Onward, glorious soldiers, marching on to war,
Bear the banner proudly she has borne before.
Our intrepid leader, deathless, still inspires.
"Onward, forge to victory!" Her call our courage fires.
Onward, glorious soldiers, marching as to war,
Bear the banner proudly she has borne before.

"The fight must not cease—you must see that it does not stop."—Susan B. Anthony.

CHORUS OF WOMEN

Mrs. A. C. Rykerd, Estelle T. Steel, Mrs. J. C. Crawford, Mrs. E. C. Snell, Mrs. M. C. Peabody, Caroline Fiske, Grace Houchen, Mary Burkholder, Mrs. F. J. Porter, Martina Beall, Leonorah Meitgler, Elizabeth Lott, Alice L. Goodacre, Mrs. W. T. Hammack, Mrs. C. E. Geary, Mrs. Howard D. Orr, Mrs. Tuna S. Russell, Elsie E. Grainger, Lillian Grainger, Eleanor Shugerman, Mrs. J. S. Mendenhall, Bertha L. Dana, Miss Madden, Miss Newton, Mrs. Joseph Seal, Miss Meriam House, Mrs. Mary Parker, Mrs. Minerva D. Hamilton, Marie Manning Gasch, Ethel Hobbe Johnson, Florence Middleton, Viola Reynolds, Thelma Gibbons, Mrs. Walton, Mrs. E. G. Chewing, Mrs. Anson A. Goodson, M. Bardwell, Mrs. J. C. Kester, Lillian Poor, Doris Stewart, Mrs. A. Cox, Mrs. N. B. Myar, Mrs. Rosa Hoffman.

Program of the Pageant

Participants in the Pageant

Miss Clara Avery
Miss V. Ale
Mrs. T. N. Ale
Abraham K. Botkin
Miss Laura Berrien
Miss A. Brown
Miss M. W. Bardwell
Miss H. Burch
Miss Alice Bell
Mrs. M. L. Butt
Miss Isabella Brown
D. J. Burger
Mrs. Agnes Brown
Miss Mary Brown
Mrs. M. Craig
Miss Susie E. Carter
A. Cogan
E. C. Duckworth
William Daniel
Miss Daisy E. Davis
Harold A. Dahill
Mrs. R. S. Eberle
Miss Mae Esterly
Miss C. M. Freeland
Miss Katherine R. Fisher
Miss Leonora Fitzgerald
Mrs. M. Freeland
Miss Anita Fisk
Miss Marita A. George
Miss Marie Gordon
Harry Gordon
Edward C. Galligan
Miss May Greenspav
Francis W. Hetfield
Miss M. Holman
Mrs. A. E. Harley
Miss Cornelia H. Hill

Mrs. C. A. Fant
Miss Rose Taishoff
Samuel Thompson
Milton Tolkins
Harold Weed
Miss Mollie Wade
John A. Weber
Mrs. Helena Hill Weed
Mrs. Charles Williams
Mr. Charles Williams
Miss Maud Walsh
M. Agnes Bradford
Miss C. Beck
Mr. C. Merrit Bodene
Miss M. Beck
Miss Ella W. Blaine
Mr. D. A. Byrne
Mr. Morris Beresonky
Mr. Olin Bragg
Mr. J. P. Briggs
Mr. F. Carl
Miss K. Coombe
Miss Mae E. DeFreistas
Miss Nannie A. Daniel
Miss F. M. Fernald
Mrs. A. L. L. Ferguson
Miss Katie Goldstein
Miss Elizabeth T. Gould
Miss B. Hellman
Miss Marguerite Heard
Mr. Ira Jones
Mrs. M. B. Knapp
Miss Lumpkin
Mrs. John Lynch, Jr.
Miss Anna Miller
Miss Annie V. McIntosh
Miss Elizabeth Marshall

Miss Margaret Keogh
E. C. Keyser
Miss Louise D. Leib
Edwin F. Ludwig
Miss Grace Mickle
Mr. McKnight
George E. MacNeil
John McCarthy
Miss V. Morgan
Miss Helen Muller
Mrs. McCarthy
Miss D. Parsley
Miss Mary Seitz Parker
James M. Quick
Miss Mattie Pool
Mrs. M. Porton
Miss Louise Park
W. M. Riggles
Joseph A. Rinis
H. Simon
Samuel Leibow
H. Stolen
Miss Sadie Stern
Miss Annis Salsbury
Miss Ethel Stern
Mrs. V. Stickeleather
Miss Mary Anderson
Miss Alice Ashford
Mr. Theodore Anderson
Mrs. Maude Anderson
Miss Anderson
Miss Ruth Briggs
Miss Rebecca L. Blaine
Mr. E. G. Beinhart
Miss May Crist
Mr. Guy Crist
Miss Myra Crist

Mr. Henry G. Morgan
Miss Mary B. Myers
Mr. Stanley E. Parsons
Dr. Helen M. Perkins
Miss M. K. Poynton
Miss Charlotte Poynton
Mr. J. W. Richman
Mr. Frank S. Sanford
Mr. F. L. Shehy
Mr. Ed F. Steele
Mr. Raymond Shannon
Miss Dorothy Sullivan
Miss Maud Taylor
Miss Bertha A. Yoder
Mrs. H. T. Van Wyck
Miss Blanche Weaver
Miss Marjory A. Weaver
Miss Edna L. Smith
Miss Eugenia McCalla
Miss Bertha Rose Miller
Mrs. Frank D. Jones
Miss A. Violet Harris
Mrs. W. V. Fiske
Gloria Fiske
Lydia Cherot
Miss G. L. Adams
Miss Ruth Miller
Miss Sarah McCarter
E. H. Mileisen
W. G. McMurchy
Eleanor McMurchy
Miss H. Malin
Mrs. F. Millstein
Mrs. Mabel Hubbard
Mr. Hubbard
Miss Hubbard
H. F. Matteson

Miss Anna G. Carr
Mrs. G. A. Crist
Mr. Edwin Conway
Mrs. Annie Donahue
Miss E. V. Duvall
Mr. I. Dissler
Miss Nora H. Erwin
Mr. Emil Eckstein
Mrs. M. M. Edwards
Miss Ruth M. Fouts
Mr. John Ford
Mr. E. H. Fulton
Miss Helen Forest
Miss S. Friedman
The Misses Fuller
Miss Marie Teagle
Mr. O. W. Goodwin
Mr. William Gulick
Mr. Frank S. Grooms
Mr. J. Goldly
Miss Sara McGarvey
Miss Dorothy G. Holland
Mrs. Alton R. Hodgkins
Mr. Alton R. Hodgkins
Mr. John E. Hardin
Miss Bernadine Heflin
Mr. E. Roeske
Mr. E. J. O'Hara
Mrs. E. S. Hackney
Mr. Charles C. Jacobs
Mrs. Charles C. Jacobs
Miss Lula Kendrick
Miss Margaret King
Miss Flora Kail
Teresa Linton
F. J. Logan
George A. Leissler, Jr.
Miss Margaret Louden

Herman Neiderstrasen
Cypert Newman
S. Niederstrasen
Mrs. John Nicol
J. R. North
Charlotte Oswill
Mrs. E. R. Payne
Marjorie Rykerd
A. N. Ross
J. Rosenblatt
Margaret Shallenberger
Mrs. S. M. Stallard
S. M. Stallard
Estelle M. Stewart
Margaret W. Stewart
Dr. Myra Cain Stewart
Miss Helen E. Stout
Hazel Stansbury
George T. Sinclair
A. F. Stouffer
Benjamin F. Smith
W. F. Salter
Miss Gertrude Skelton
William Stimpson
Carl Leitz
J. A. Stuart
R. H. Taylor
Miss Tolsom
Alice M. Townsend
W. R. Thomas
B. H. Vernon
Mrs. Sylvia West
Mrs. J. J. Whispell
Philip H. Weber
F. A. Warfield
A. Kathryn Whitner
A. B. Wills
Mary Weed

Professional Women in the Birthday Scene

Mrs. Ellen S. Mussey
Miss Preston Womack
Mrs. M. Coope
Miss G. L. Monaghan
Miss F. B. Flemmer

Miss H. E. Jamison
Mrs. J. G. Peters
Mrs. M. C. White
Mrs. G. L. Grimes
Miss R. C. Dunbar

Mrs. J. B. Newman
Miss E. Kissinger
Miss L. C. Quick
Miss G. E. Leonard
Miss E. Friedman

Miss F. Hammond
Miss H. Easton
Miss H. M. Eisinstein
Mrs. R. M. Kennett
Mrs. F. A. Warfield

Mrs. H. B. West
Miss Floyd
Miss Elizabeth Geary
Miss Lillian Lindicoe
Mrs. J. M. Rees

Miss L. M. Chapman
Mrs. M. Harding
Miss E. Plautt
Miss M. Mickle

Children in the Birthday Scene from Howard Leslie Holt's Dancing School

Harriet Abels
H. Browne
Robert Buckley
Betty Bryant
Ruth Butt
Alice Crist
Mildred Carroll
H. Collins

Dorothy Estelle Jacobs
Carrie May Jones
K. Kaye
Audrey Keys
Frances Keys
William F. Kerby
T. Luckell
Ruth Molyneaux

Beatrice Coles
Mark F. Coles
J. Duffy
Audrey Flack
Helen Finkle
Dorothy Finkle
Adelaide Farraher
Dorothy Grimes

Lillian Hoy
Anna M. Morris
Harold Metcalf
Dorothy Mullen
Cary Nicol
Maryaylett Nicol
Evelyn Rieske
Killer Royse

Lucius Stern
Margaret Huss
C. Hanson
E. Hanson
Ruth Hanson
Theodore Hanson
Frederick Hanson
J. Hawkes

Alice Hanson
Dorris Schlegel
N. Stern
Alice Totson
Margaret Van Sant
Marguerite Weighell
Leyden White
B. Wall

Suffrage and the Woman Voter

By Helen Todd

(Reception to the Women Voters' Envoys, "Little White House," Washington, D. C., December 7, 1915)

I HAVE been asked whether the western women voters will stand back of the resolution to put loyalty to women above all party considerations in 1916 will be the western woman voter, but she "Yes." I have been asked whether the California women, now that they themselves have won their freedom, will not think that the women of the eastern states could and ought to do the same for themselves. Now, we women of California have believed that this was possible until this November, when four states refused justice to women. At the very time when we were celebrating the presence of the Liberty Bell at our exposition in San Francisco, the city that cracked that bronze bell in the greatness of its joy at winning freedom for men one hundred years later refused to grant the same freedom to women. There isn't a California woman who ever wants to see the Pennsylvania Liberty Bell again, with its motto carved in bronze, "Proclaim liberty throughout the earth and to all the people thereof," because we consider that bell disgraced by the action of the men of Philadelphia. It is a symbol from which the spirit of liberty has departed.

In the four years that the women of California have worked together with the men, we have been able to accomplish so much that now that the east has refused a like freedom to its women, not only the women of the west, but many of the men of the west feel that the cause of justice to women should be put before all party loyalty in 1916.

It is true that with the women we have the advantage, especially in California, of a large body of voters who are not deeply attached to any party as a party, but who swing freely as their consciences dictate. The old ruts of generations of party loyalty do not exist with women as they do with men. But our men feel more deeply than eastern men can realize on this subject. They feel that the same elements of special privilege and reactionary opinion which drove them across the deserts to find freedom are crushing the women of the East. Also we have a large body of Progressives who have broken loose from the old party affiliations and I believe many of them will pledge themselves in 1916 to stand with us women voters. We will draw, too, largely from the Democrats and the Republicans. Above all we get the support of labor, not only West but East.

Of the million men in the far eastern states that voted for women on November 2, I think we can depend upon a certain number rallying to us. The nucleus, of course, of this great movement to put justice to women before all party considerations in 1916 will be the western woman voter, but she will rally the other elements to her.

And in the face of this brutal outbreak of violence in Europe which has darkened all of our lives, many other men and women will be drawn to our cause by the realization that every bit of flesh and blood that goes down as food for cannon on the battleground has been created by women; that if they use the flesh and blood of women for cannon food, she should at least have a voice in the councils that declare war. I believe that this is the psychological moment when great forces are at work which will make our victory sure. People all over the world realize that the government created by men alone is a failure, and that just as the miracle of human life is created by men and women, so the environment which shelters that life must be the product of the expression in government of men and women, too.

Hearing Before National Democratic Committee

THE demand for the national enfranchisement of women was again brought vigorously to public attention and to the attention of the foremost men in national politics, when the envoys of the Woman Voters' Convention, Mrs. Sara Bard Field and Miss Frances Jolliffe, spoke last week before the National Democratic Committee.

The hearing was held in the small ballroom of the New Willard Hotel. From two o'clock, when the hearing was scheduled to begin, until about four, when the opportunity to speak on suffrage finally came, the room was full of women eager to testify by their presence to their interest in the successful passage of the Susan B .Anthony amendment through Congress this session.

The two western speakers were introduced by Mrs. Florence Kelley, member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, and a veteran in the battle to secure protective legislation for woman and child workers.

"Thirty-eight years ago," Mrs. Kelley said, "my father was the father of the suffrage bill in the House of Representatives, and introduced this resolution. It has made sorrowfully little progress during the thirty-eight years; but this year everything is changed.

"I have the pleasure of calling to your attention the fact that last month one million men in four Eastern states voted in favor of giving votes to women, and I am now to introduce to you representatives who come from a convention of women voters, sent to Congress to bring a petition with five hundred thousand signatures. The first speaker," said Mrs. Kelly, introducing Mrs. Wolstenholm, "comes from the legislature of Utah, of which she is a member."

"We have the vote," Mrs. Wolstenholm said in part, "we have had it for years, and I do not believe there is a single man in the state of Utah that would want the franchise recalled.

"There is no reason why that should not be true of all states.

"I see before me this afternoon a very intelligent body of men, and I believe when the opportune time comes you will do your duty toward these good sisters who are working so hard for the thing that belongs to them."

A brilliant address was made by Miss Frances Jolliffe. "Gentlemen of the Democratic committee," she said, "I think by my works that I have the right to speak to you as a fellow Democrat. In the last presidential campaign I went out and spoke, sometimes three times a day, for our President, Mr. Wilson. I organized for him. I do not think you can beat this record: I raised one thousand dollars of Taft money for Mr. Wilson. And then again, when Mr. Wilson sent out his call asking us to send Phelan to the Senate, again I went out and again I spoke three times a day—and I hate work—and I worked to the last minute, and again we returned a Democratic man to the Senate. Now, fellow Democrats, I did that at my own expense. I took nothing from the treasury. I did it because I wanted to do it. I wanted to help the Democratic Party.

"And now I see such a wonderful opportunity for the Democratic Party. Take all this enthusiasm of the women voters that is waiting to be freed. We present you a demand. Yes, a demand from the women voters to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment. There is nothing revolutionary or radical in that demand. We have precedent all on our side; and Mr. Wilson has promised us that he will confer with his party for us.

"The first Woman Voters' Convention was held in San Francisco last September. There were delegates sent from all the twelve free states—delegates who represented working women, professional women, club women, and women of leisure. They unanimously voted that woman's enfranchisement should be the paramount issue hereafter for women voters.

"The last night when they met to say 'God-speed' to us who were to be the envoys to Congress, there were ten thousand enthusiastic women present, and the last woman who clasped my hand and wished me luck was our leading Democratic woman and president of our civic center.

"Gentlemen, this movement now is above partisanship with us because it is a movement, a demand, for justice. Down from the factory and the sweatshops you hear the women and the girls calling to you men, 'Give us freedom that at least we may meet the struggle for existence on equal terms.' Gentlemen, do not blame us, even if we are good Democrats, that we must hear that call first, that we women must first do our duty by other women.

"Gentlemen and fellow Democrats, help us. You are going to have a strenuous session, and there are things you have got to put through, and we want to help you. But you must help us first. Free us, so that we, like the pioneer women of the West who sent us, may stand side by side with you men and help you bring prosperity to the home and the nation."

The hearing granted to the Congressional Union was closed by Mrs. Sara Bard Field, who said: "We are not here to ask you to make any recommendations to the Democratic Party with regard to putting suffrage into the national platform, because we women of the West firmly expect this amendment to be passed in the next session. . . . On our trip East we have touched every large center between here and San Francisco, and the demonstrations which have met us at every point have exceeded our most brilliant hopes. Throngs of women came up to say, with Mrs. Fowler, of Colorado, 'Henceforth I know no politics until women are free.' . . . We do not want an alienation of the women voters from the party in power. We are glad to tell you from our personal experience that we know the desire of the great mass of voters of this country, and the great mass of people, is that you should pass this amendment in the Sixty-fourth Congress. Men like Governor Ferris, of Michigan, have endorsed our amendment. Men like Mayor Mitchell, of New York City, have signed our petition.

"We know that you will use your influence to see that this amendment is passed at this gathering of Congress, so that the women of the nation may know at whose door to lay their gratitude."

Mrs. Antoinette Funk, representing the National Woman Suffrage Association; Miss Kate Gordon, representing the Southern States' Suffrage Conference; Mrs. A. J. George, representing the association opposed to the extension of suffrage to women, also spoke at this hearing. The keen desire of women to express their wishes before the members of the National Democratic Committee, all of whom are influential politicians in their own community, testified to the extraordinarily live interest in woman suffrage as a present issue.

Suffrage in England

THE *Common Cause*, the organ of the English "non-militant" suffragists, says of the new English government registration bill:

"As we go to press, the text of the government registration bill is still unknown. If, as we hope, the bill merely provides for the prolongation of the life of the present Parliament, all will be well; but if the bill includes an alteration in the basis of the franchise for men, we shall view it with grave anxiety. The Coalition government was formed to lead our country against its enemies, and not to settle our old domestic difficulties, and any such action would create the most deep uneasiness. Since 1832 the question of the basis of the franchise has been one upon which the British people have been most sharply divided; it is one that no war government should dare to touch.

"We cannot yet speak of the effect such a bill might have upon our own question of women's suffrage. We, as suffragists, have suspended our political work, not losing sight of our convictions, but striving loyally to uphold the political truce. We have not pressed for a women's suffrage bill, though we have not forgotten that we need it; we have tried to prove ourselves worthy of citizenship, and have worked for our country in every way that we could, believing that by so doing we best served both our country and our cause. . . . It would be a betrayal, even greater and more unpardonable than any we have seen before, if the Cabinet were to rush through Parliament, during the political truce, a bill which would make women's suffrage an impossibility after the war."

The Issues Pending Before the Present Congress

THE press is everywhere listing as the leading issues before Congress today the questions of national defense, government ship purchase, revenues, war measures, woman suffrage, prohibition and Philippine independence.

The entire list is a strong argument for granting the vote to women throughout the nation; for all these measures directly affect the interests of women.

The President's Answer

By Ida Husted Harper

(*Continued from page 5*)

saw that all the force of political corruption, which for the salvation of the state he fought against the whole time that he was Governor, united in opposition to the amendment and defeated it.

So he himself and a member of his Cabinet gave it the strongest support a state amendment ever received, but it was destroyed by the secret ballots of the individual voters, and what was true of New Jersey was equally true of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Surely he must now see the reasonableness of our demand to carry our cause to the legislatures of the states. It might in the far distant future be won state by state, but you remember the anecdote of the mother who reproved her little boy for not dividing his apple with his little sister, and he answered, "I did; I gave her the seeds and she can plant them and have a whole orchard!" The third generation of women are now working for suffrage, and while they are willing to do a good deal for posterity, they would like to vote a few times themselves before they pass on.

The women of the country gladly pay tribute to President Wilson for having given more recognition to woman suffrage than all the other Presidents combined, and now we ask him to complete this notable record by pointing out their plain duty to his colleagues at the other end of the city.

We are gathered tonight in a house of historic associations beyond the personal memory of those who are here. I recall, however, many brilliant functions that I have attended in these spacious rooms during the régime of Vice-President Hobart and Senator Mark Hanna, but now it has achieved its proudest distinction in its demonstration to woman suffrage. This seventh of December is a day to be remembered as marking the first time in the history of our long campaign when a lady of the White House gave it her sanction at a public gathering. Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. Harrison, her daughter Mrs. McKee, and Mrs. Roosevelt, were friendly in spirit, but made no outward signs. May we express to Miss Wilson our appreciation of the prestige of the administration which she has given us tonight, and, more especially, of this evidence of her own personal friendship and approval?

In behalf of the suffragists here and of the large constituency from ocean to ocean whom they represent, I wish to offer to our gracious hostess our deep appreciation of her sincere devotion and generous service to our cause, and to extend to the representatives of the Congressional Union congratulations on the progress they have made in securing for it national recognition.

Deputations to Congressmen

CONGRESSMAN CARTER GLASS, of the Sixth District of Virginia, was interviewed last week by members of his constituency interested in the speedy passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

The deputation was secured with not an hour's notice. Mr. Glass had returned to Lynchburg for one day. In response to a hurry call, a very influential delegation was summoned, consisting of Mrs. John H. Lewis, president of the Lynchburg Equal Suffrage League; Mrs. Dexter Otey, treasurer of the Lynchburg Equal Suffrage League and third vice-chairman of the Virginia Branch of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Henry C. McDowell and Miss Nannie E. Averett, vice-presidents of the Lynchburg Equal Suffrage League; Mrs. Charles R. Smith, secretary; Mrs. W. T. Peck, Miss Jessie McGhee, Mrs. George Leckie, Mrs. Edward E. Ayers, Miss Agnes Horner, Miss Mary Lewis, Miss Mary Percy, and Mrs. John M. Fisher.

Mrs. Henry C. McDowell, who presided at the hearing, introduced first as principal speaker Mrs. Dexter Otey, and a very interesting line of argument with Mr. Glass was opened up.

Mrs. Otey declared that inasmuch as women were already voting in national elections in twelve states, woman suffrage was a national issue, and that Congressmen could not "run to cover" beneath states' rights. "The large allotment of chairmanships of important committees to Virginia representatives," Mrs. Otey said, "lifts many Virginia Congressmen out of the category of mere local representatives. They are acting in a national capacity, no longer in a purely local one; and they are accordingly responsible to the whole nation.'

Mr. Glass did not deny the competency of Congress to act on the federal suffrage amendment; but stated that in his opinion the only time Congress had ever interfered with the electorate in the states, in the enactment of the fifteenth amendment, it had precipitated disastrous results.

The deputation pointed out to him very clearly that the enfranchisement of illiterate slaves during the period of reconstruction was not analogous to enfranchising the women of the United States.

Mr. Glass thereupon stated that he was not satisfied that the women of Virginia wanted the vote. He admitted, however, in response to questions from the deputation, that such a matter could not be decided accurately until women had the vote; and frankly agreed that the merits of woman suffrage, the righteousness of it, and not the question of whether all women wanted the vote or not, should guide the individual in his position upon this subject.

At this point Mr. Glass frankly avowed that he would have to be convinced that woman suffrage was not baneful. "Representatives in Congress from woman suffrage states in the West," Mr. Glass said, "tell me that giving the ballot to woman has been harmful in those states, and yet when it comes to voting in the halls of Congress, those same men vote for woman suffrage."

The deputation urged him to present his objections to the principle of woman suffrage in order that they might be answered then and there; but Mr. Glass entrenched himself behind the statement that he never could argue with a woman.

The deputation left Mr. Glass convinced that he was not opposed to woman suffrage on account of any belief that the adoption of this amendment would interfere with states' rights. Mr. Glass had evidently not made a study of woman suffrage, and was therefore uninformed on the question. He is prejudiced against it and is not a believer in democracy. "In Virginia," writes Mrs. Dexter Otey, "that is our difficulty; our people do not honestly believe in democracy. They do not think the people ought to rule."

Vigorous educational work, the deputation believed, might win the support of Mr. Glass to the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

JUDGE RUFUS HARDY, Representative from Corsicana, Texas, declared to a deputation of one hundred women who called upon him to urge him to support the submission of the federal amendment to the state legislature, that he was opposed to such action. "I am afraid," said Judge Hardy, "that when the gate is open, the camel will be in the tent, and this amendment will pave the way for others, and that the federal government might fix the voting qualifications in the states. If the federal government should extend the franchise, it might also restrict it."

Judge Hardy spoke at considerable length on this point, and was answered by Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, who said that the precedent for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment was established already by the Fifteenth Amendment itself, and would not be in any way extended by the adoption of another amendment of exactly the same character. "Amendments widening or restricting the rights of the state over the franchise can now be adopted by constitutional amendment," Mrs. Thompson said, "but they must be adopted on their merits. The present arrangement of disfranchising women because they are women is certainly not wise, and on its merits ought not to be allowed to continue."

Mrs. Thompson is the wife of a Texan well known in Corsicana, and is therefore well able to speak from the local as well as the national point of view.

The deputation was held on Saturday, November 27, in the Young Men's Christian Association building. The speeches made by the members of the deputation were extremely clear and able. Mrs. Kate Mooring, who presided, said, in opening the program: "Judge Hardy, I have the honor of presenting to you as representatives of this district this body of earnest, intelligent and expectant women. They are not strangers to you, but are your old home people and neighbors. Most of us are your warm personal friends. We know you are interested in everyone of us and are sure that after calmly considering this question, of so great importance to us, you will decide with the women and say they are equal to anything, even to handling the ballot."

Mrs. J. A. Townsend, president of the Equal Suffrage League of Corsicana, then explained why the southern women had turned to the federal amendment. Mrs. J. S. Callicutt, vice-president of the Daughters of the Confederacy, discussed the relation of the home to politics Mrs. Robert Neblett Hall, a Texan, whose home is in California, spoke on the woman voter. Mrs. George F. Miller, corresponding secretary of the Daughters of the Confederacy, discussed the southern woman's need for the passage of the amendment; Mrs. Hall Peck, representing the Southern Women's Press Association, spoke on the attitude of the press toward suffrage, and Mrs. St. Clair Thompson explained the provisions of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

So earnest a body of women could hardly fail to impress the Representative from their district with the reasonableness of their claim to a share in self-government.

CONGRESSMAN J. E. RUSSELL, of the Fourth District of Ohio, recently received a deputation of women from his district, urging him to support the federal suffrage amendment in Congress. The deputation was arranged by Mrs. James M. Rector, of Columbus, and Mrs. John McKee, of Springfield. The point emphasized by the speakers, Mrs. Rector and Mrs. McKee, was the growing strength of the demand for woman suffrage in Ohio.

"We do not want you to take a final stand on the woman suffrage question now," Mrs. Russell said. "We want only at the present time to put you in possession of facts which will, I am sure, help to make your decision on the question of national woman suffrage a favorable one when the time comes for voting upon it in Congress."

Congressman Russell received the deputation most cordially.

WASHINGTON
College of Law
TWENTIETH YEAR

Equal Opportunities for Men and Women

Woman dean. Only law school ever established primarily for women. Faculty and student body composed about equally of men and women. Standard course, three years; degree, LL.B. Post-graduate course, one year; degree, LL.M.

Special advantages for legal study at the National Capital. Classes from 4.50 to 9 p. m. for benefit of students employed during day. For further information and Year Book, address the Dean, **1317 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C.**

Phone, Main 3629

"La PARISIENNE"
ROTISSERIE
Restaurant of Quality
610 14th Street N. W.,
Washington, D. C.
E. M. WATERBURY, Prop.

Meyer Davis' Music
"An Orchestra Extraordinary"

Offices at
THE NEW WILLARD Washington
THE BELLEVUE STRATFORD Philadelphia
THE SWIMMING CLUB
THE MALVERN Bar Harbor

Featured at
THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY PAGEANT
Convention Hall, December 13

Such things as these
Frank R. Jelleff INC.
FORMERLY SMOOT & JELLEFF.
1216 F STREET N.W
The Store That Sells Wooltex Coats and Suits
MAKE GIFTS THAT ARE NEVER FORGOTTEN
Revillon Freres Furs — Centemeri Kid Gloves — Mark Cross London Leather Goods
Silk Stockings—Handkerchiefs—Neckwear — Silk Petticoats—Blouses—Gowns

Treasurer's Report

Contributions toward $100,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

List of Contributors from November 29 through December 8

Miss Anna G. Swenson	$1.00
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley	6.00
Miss Willystine Goodsell	25.00
Mrs. M. C. Morgan and Miss Caroline Katzenstein	18.00
Mrs. George H. Day	25.00
Mrs. Delia A. Emerson	5.00
Richland Center, Wisconsin Woman Suffrage League	25.00
Mrs. Margaret May Brooks	1.00
Miss Lillian Reed	1.00
Miss Ida Howgate	1.00
Mrs. Sarah Colvin	5.00
Mrs. Nellie B. Van Slingerland	5.00
Mrs. J. B. Thresher	5.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	2,050.00
Mrs. Josephine K. Linton	1.00
Mrs. Hazel L. Nyman	25.00
Mrs. Ella Hoover Thacker	1.00
Mrs. Florence M. Dowden	1.00
Miss Anne Martin	1.00
Dr. Mabel Haslup Lamb	5.00
Mrs. Emma I. Miller	1.00
Mrs. Richard Wainwright	14.00
Miss Louise K. Sparrow	2.00
Mrs. Grace Parker Reese	1.00
Anonymous	1.00
Miss Aline E. Solomons	5.00
Mrs. John Longyear	500.00
Mrs. Stella Krumm Seaton	5.00
Mrs. G. C. Deppe	1.00
Mrs. Eldon Bisbee	17.00
Mrs. Robert A. Marmion	2.00
Miss N. Morrison	10.00
Mrs. J. Hedges Crowell	25.00
Miss Ruth Barnes	5.00
Mrs. Emanuel Einstein	10.00
Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim	100.00
Mrs. Fred T. Ackermann	10.00
Miss Nan Morrison	1.00
Mrs. Roberta Z. Allen	1.00
Mrs. Sarah E. Hacken	1.00
Mrs. William Colt	50.00
Miss Clara C. Greacen	1.00
Miss Gail Calmerton	1.00
Mrs. Elizabeth A. Smart	1.00
Mrs. William Willet	5.00
Miss Caroline Foulke	1.00
Miss Frances Foulke	1.00
Miss Cora E. Johnson	2.00
Mr. Paul F. Johnson	1.00
Miss Izora De Wolf	1.00
Miss Mae Starr Martin	3.00
Anonymous	1.00
Mrs. Margaret S. Johnston	5.00
Miss Harriet F. Bain	10.00
Mr. Peter Peters	1.00
Mrs. F. C. Caldwell	5.00
Mrs. Evelyn Haskell	1.00
Dr. Margaret Long	5.00
Miss Helen Keller	10.00
Miss Elizabeth Edes	1.00
Miss M. Melick	1.00
Miss Mathilde Rochon	1.00
Miss Minnie E. MacCartee	1.00
Mrs. F. Brinton	1.00
Mrs. James B. Oliver	50.00
Mrs. Henry Justice	25.00
Mrs. Mary Rininger	5.00
Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor	5.00
Mrs. John Rogers, Jr.	50.00
Mrs. Mary E. Robinson	2.00
Miss Beth D. Osborn	5.00
Mrs. Marcus I. Brock	1.00
Miss Lizzie A. Gray	$5.00
Dr. Mary Walker Eaton	5.00
Mrs. W. A. Applegate	1.00
Mrs. L. D. Clark	1.00
Mr. Julius Garfinkle	25.00
Anonymous	12.00
Mrs. B. B. Sheffield	5.00
Mrs. F. M. Kerby	3.00
Mrs. Charlotte Russell Partridge	25.00
Mrs. Mabel Blount	1.00
Mrs. L. L. Worth	1.00
Miss Rachael S. Howland	2.00
Mrs. James A. Shipton	1.00
Miss Helen Lippincott	5.00
Mrs. M. Goldenberg	1.00
Mrs. W. M. Geddes	1.00
Mrs. Claudia Geary	2.50
Miss Elizabeth Geary	2.50
Miss Laura L. Runyon	1.00
Miss Minnie A. Bray	1.00
Mrs. Joseph B. Latimer	2.00
Mrs. Robert P. Finley	5.00
Miss Anna G. Swenson (collected)	.25
Mrs. M. E. Cutter	1.00
Mrs. Clara Louise Thompson	2.00
Mrs. W. Spencer Mussey	25.00
Miss Ophelia Rodriquez	5.00
Mrs. Irving Scott	100.00
Mr. Percy MacKaye	5.00
Mrs. Bertha Helm	5.90
Mrs. Emma S. Still	5.00
Mrs. Ella Wiborn Brown	.25
Mrs. Alice Weld Tallant	1.00
Mrs. Rosalla S. Bayhi	5.00
Miss Zoe Marie Bayhi	2.00
Mrs. Mabel T. La Rue	1.00
Mrs. Bertha Knoche	10.00
Mrs. W. E. Ehrich	10.00
Miss Anna Constable	100.00
Mrs. Mary A. Bradford	2.00
Mrs. Frank Breese	1.00
Mrs. Edward B. Meigs	1.00
Miss Emma C. Crans	1.00
Miss Anna C. Murdock	2.00
Mrs. Francis T. Simmons	1.00
Mrs. C. H. Cross	1.00
Mrs. Marion Gunnison	1.00
Mrs. Clara G. Force	1.00
Virginia Branch Congressional Union	3.00
Mrs. Laura Wales Alvord	1.00
Miss Bertha Yoder	1.00
Mrs. K. D. Shute	1.00
Mrs. E. S. Lawton	1.00
Mrs. Nancie Michie Wayland	1.00
Miss E. P. Ryder	1.00
Mrs. Marston	1.00
Mrs. S. Louisa Campbell	5.00
Mrs. S. T. McKnight	25.00
Anonymous	1.00
Mrs. Clara Wittman	3.00
Miss Lavinia L. Dock	5.00
Mrs. William Bross Lloyd	50.00
Mrs. Dorothy Earle	.60
Dr. Emma Reba Bailey	5.00
Mrs. Eliza R. Marshall	1.00
Mrs. Joseph Seal	1.00
Miss L. P. Lewis	2.00
Woman's Franchise League, Britton, S. D.	5.00
Rev. Olympia Brown	1.00
Miss Eva Ammen	1.00
Mrs. Ogden P. Bourland	5.00
Miss Margaret Martin	1.00
Mrs. Davis Ewing	10.00
Miss Mary R. Ridley	1.00
Miss Rebecca D. Ernst	5.00
Miss Cora Marley	3.00
Miss Bertha G. Emmel	1.00
Mrs. Annie Wallace Hunt	5.00
Mrs. Mary O. Stevens	1.00
Mrs. Sophie M. Rambauer	2.00
Mrs. Archibald Freer	2.00
Miss Louise H. Leib	1.00
Mrs. James W. Clift	1.00
Mrs. L. G. MacLeod	1.00
Miss Annie Bunn	2.00
Mrs. W. J. Lewis	5.00
Mrs. Wilbur F. Crafts	$1.00
Mrs. George I. Becker	1.00
Collections	180.92
Membership fees	115.85
Sale of tickets	569.75
Total	$5,195.27
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	88,960.79
Total collected through December 7	$94,156.06

5,000 New Subscribers

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers to "The Suffragist"

(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscribers.)

NOVEMBER 28 THROUGH DECEMBER 4.

Mrs. Emma P. Gray	1
Mrs. Anna Arneil	1
Mrs. W. T. Burch	11
Miss Joy L. Webster	1
Miss Gertrude Lynde Crocker	1
Miss Elizabeth Smith	1
Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye	1
Miss Helen Jollie	1
Mrs. Edward T. Elden	1
Miss Doris Stevens	6
Mrs. Mary Beard	4
Mrs. Calvin Tompkins	1
Mrs. Butterworth	1
Mrs. Cyrus Mead	2
Miss Grace Hillis	4
Miss Alice Paul	1
Miss Elsie Hill	1
Total	39
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	1,769
Total through December 4	1,808

Telephone Main 673

Lanman Engraving Co.

HALF TONES, ZINC ETCHINGS
PROCESS ENGRAVERS
POST BUILDING Washington, D. C.

"THE BUSY CORNER"
S. Kann Sons & Co.
8TH ST. AND PENNA. AVE.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Open 9.00 a. m. Close 6.00 p. m.

A Christmas Suggestion—
Shop NOW and get lowest prices

THE FAD OF THE SEASON

Wear a "CHIN CHIN" COLLAR and carry a "CANNONBALL" MUFF of

FUR

Our lines comprise the most fashionable of the season's furs:

New Round Muffs		"Chin Chin" Collars	
Mole Skin	$22.50	Mole Skin	$10.50
Beaver	$27.50	Beaver	$16.50
Civet Cat	$14.50	Civet Cat	$9.75

Kann's—Second Floor.